

He has been a mentor. He has been a moral anchor for our family for decades. I think of him being on the altar as a young altar boy at the time Marcelle and I were married 52 years ago, and he has been part of our lives and our marriage ever since. He is the man we turn to when we want guidance. He is a man both of us love greatly. And I would like to say, as the longest serving Member of the Senate, what an honor it was to have him open with the prayer.

Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for allowing this.

I yield the floor.

#### CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

#### CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 2 minutes of debate prior to a vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the Lodge nomination.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent all time be yielded back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, all time is yielded back.

Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination of Virginia Tyler Lodge, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Harry Reid, Patrick J. Leahy, Patty Murray, Tom Udall, Brian Schatz, Charles E. Schumer, Barbara Boxer, Benjamin L. Cardin, Richard Blumenthal, Jeff Merkley, Al Franken, Robert P. Casey, Jr., Martin Heinrich, Elizabeth Warren, Richard J. Durbin, Christopher Murphy, Bernard Sanders.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Virginia Tyler Lodge, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROCKEFELLER), the Senator from Colorado (Mr. UDALL), and the Senator from New York (Mr. SCHUMER) are necessarily absent.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senator is necessarily absent: the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 63, nays 32, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 318 Ex.]

#### YEAS—63

Alexander	Flake	Murkowski
Ayotte	Franken	Murphy
Baldwin	Gillibrand	Murray
Begich	Graham	Nelson
Bennet	Hagan	Pryor
Blumenthal	Harkin	Reed
Booker	Heinrich	Reid
Boxer	Heitkamp	Sanders
Brown	Hirono	Schatz
Cantwell	Johnson (SD)	Sessions
Cardin	Kaine	Shaheen
Carper	King	Shelby
Casey	Klobuchar	Stabenow
Coats	Leahy	Tester
Collins	Levin	Udall (NM)
Coons	Manchin	Vitter
Corker	Markey	Walsh
Cornyn	McCaskill	Warner
Donnelly	Menendez	Warren
Durbin	Merkley	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Mikulski	Wyden

#### NAYS—32

Barrasso	Hatch	Moran
Blunt	Heller	Paul
Boozman	Hoeben	Portman
Burr	Inhofe	Risch
Chambliss	Isakson	Roberts
Coburn	Johanns	Rubio
Cochran	Johnson (WI)	Scott
Crapo	Kirk	Thune
Enzi	Lee	Toomey
Fischer	McCain	Wicker
Grassley	McConnell	

#### NOT VOTING—5

Cruz	Rockefeller	Udall (CO)
Landrieu	Schumer	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 63, the nays are 32.

The motion is agreed to.

#### NOMINATION OF VIRGINIA TYLER LODGE TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Virginia Tyler Lodge, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will be 2 minutes of debate prior to a vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the Walter nomination.

Who yields time?

Mr. LEAHY. I ask unanimous consent all time be yielded back.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, all time is yielded back.

Pursuant to rule XXII, the Chair lays before the Senate the pending cloture motion, which the clerk will state.

The assistant bill clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the nomination

of Ronald Anderson Walter, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Harry Reid, Patrick J. Leahy, Patty Murray, Tom Udall, Brian Schatz, Charles E. Schumer, Barbara Boxer, Benjamin L. Cardin, Richard Blumenthal, Jeff Merkley, Al Franken, Robert P. Casey, Jr., Martin Heinrich, Elizabeth Warren, Richard J. Durbin, Christopher Murphy, Bernard Sanders.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. By unanimous consent, the mandatory quorum call has been waived.

The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the nomination of Ronald Anderson Walter, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are mandatory under the rule.

The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant bill clerk called the roll.

Mr. DURBIN. I announce that the Senator from Louisiana (Ms. LANDRIEU) and the Senator from Colorado (Mr. UDALL) are necessarily absent.

Mr. CORNYN. The following Senators are necessarily absent: the Senator from Georgia (Mr. CHAMBLISS) and the Senator from Texas (Mr. CRUZ).

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KING). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 65, nays 31, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 319 Ex.]

#### YEAS—65

Alexander	Franken	Murray
Ayotte	Gillibrand	Nelson
Baldwin	Graham	Pryor
Begich	Hagan	Reed
Bennet	Harkin	Reid
Blumenthal	Heinrich	Rockefeller
Booker	Heitkamp	Sanders
Boxer	Hirono	Schatz
Brown	Johnson (SD)	Schumer
Cantwell	Kaine	Sessions
Cardin	King	Shaheen
Carper	Klobuchar	Shelby
Casey	Leahy	Stabenow
Coats	Levin	Tester
Collins	Manchin	Udall (NM)
Coons	Markey	Vitter
Corker	McCaskill	Walsh
Cornyn	Menendez	Warner
Donnelly	Merkley	Warren
Durbin	Mikulski	Whitehouse
Feinstein	Murkowski	Wyden
Flake	Murphy	

#### NAYS—31

Barrasso	Heller	Paul
Blunt	Hoeben	Portman
Boozman	Inhofe	Risch
Burr	Isakson	Roberts
Coburn	Johanns	Rubio
Cochran	Johnson (WI)	Scott
Crapo	Kirk	Thune
Enzi	Lee	Toomey
Fischer	McCain	Wicker
Grassley	McConnell	
Hatch	Moran	

#### NOT VOTING—4

Chambliss	Landrieu
Cruz	Udall (CO)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 65, the nays are 31.

The motion is agreed to.

**NOMINATION OF RONALD ANDERSON WALTER TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY**

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the nomination.

The assistant bill clerk reported the nomination of Ronald Anderson Walter, of Tennessee, to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

**MORNING BUSINESS**

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will be in a period of morning business for debate only until 6 p.m., with the time equally divided in the usual form.

The majority leader.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, what is the matter before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is currently in a period of morning business for debate only.

The majority leader.

**CIA OVERSIGHT REPORT**

Mr. REID. Mr. President, today for the first time the American people are going to learn the full truth about torture that took place under the CIA during the Bush administration. I have served for 22 years with the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, DIANNE FEINSTEIN. She is dignified. She is very thorough in whatever she does. She is intelligent and she cares a great deal. She has proven herself to be the one of the most thoughtful and hard-working Members of this body. The people of California are, as well they should be, very proud of this good woman.

I am appreciative of the work the Senate Intelligence Committee has done under her direction. We are here today because of her efforts. She has persevered, overcome obstacles that have been significant, to make this study available to the American people.

I am gratified for the work done by Democrats on the Intelligence Committee. We are here today, again I repeat, because of their efforts. We do not often mention, as certainly we should, the work of our staffs. I want to throw a big bouquet to the intelligence staff. They have worked so hard. Under the direction of Senator FEINSTEIN, they have worked for 7 years—7 years—working on this vitally important matter. It is a report that was not easy, but they did it.

Here is what they did: Committee members and staff combed through more than 6 million pages—6 million pages—of documents to formulate the report. The full committee report is 6,700 pages long—7 years, I repeat, in the making.

The unclassified executive summary, which is going to be released today, is more than 500 pages. I want everyone to understand, the Select Committee

on Intelligence, along with the House Committee on Intelligence, is the only group of people who provide oversight over our intelligence community. They actually have the ability to investigate what happened. No one else. Not the press, not Senators, nor the public, or outside organizations have the ability to investigate the CIA. But we did it. The implications of this report are profound. Not only is torture wrong, but it does not work. For people today, we hear them coming from different places saying, It was great. It was terrific what we did. It has got us so much.

It has got us nothing, except a bad name. Without this report, the American people would not know what actually took place under the CIA's torture program. This critical report highlights the importance of Senate oversight and the role Congress must play in overseeing the executive branch of government. The only way our country can put this episode in the past is to come to terms with what happened and commit to ensuring it will never happen again. This is how we as Americans make our Nation stronger. When we realize there is a problem, we seek the evidence; we study it; we learn from it. Then we set about to enact change. Americans must learn from our mistakes. We learned about the Pentagon papers. They were helpful to us as a country. The Iran contra affair. I was here when it went on. It was hard on us, but it was important that we did this. More recently, what happened in that prison in Iraq, Abu-Ghraib.

We have three separate branches of government, the judicial, the executive, and the legislative branches of government. To me, this work done by the Intelligence Committee, of which the Presiding Officer is a member, cries out for our Constitution, three separate, equal branches of government.

We are here today to talk about the work done by the legislative branch of government. We can protect our national security as a country without resorting to methods like torture. They are contrary to the fundamental values of America. So I call upon the administration, the Intelligence Committee, and my colleagues in Congress to join me in that commitment, that what took place, the torture program, is not in keeping with our country.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from California.

**SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE STUDY OF THE CIA'S DETENTION AND INTERROGATION PROGRAM**

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I want to thank the leader for his words and for his support. They are extraordinarily welcome and appreciated.

Today, a 500-page executive summary of the Senate Intelligence Committee's 5½ year review of the CIA's detention and interrogation program, which was conducted between 2002 and 2009, is being released publicly. The executive

summary, which is going out today, is backed by a 6,700-page classified and unredacted report with 38,000 footnotes which can be released, if necessary, at a later time.

The report released today examines the CIA's secret overseas detention of at least 119 individuals and the use of coercive interrogation techniques, in some cases amounting to torture.

Over the past couple of weeks, I have gone through a great deal of introspection about whether to delay the release of this report to a later time. This clearly is a period of turmoil and instability in many parts of the world. Unfortunately, that is going to continue for the foreseeable future whether or not this report is released.

There are those who will seize upon the report and say "See what the Americans did," and they will try to use it to justify evil actions or incite more violence. We can't prevent that, but history will judge us by our commitment to a just society governed by law and the willingness to face an ugly truth and say "never again."

There may never be the right time to release this report. The instability we see today will not be resolved in months or years. But this report is too important to shelve indefinitely.

My determination to release it has also increased due to a campaign of mistaken statements and press articles launched against the report before anyone has had the chance to read it. As a matter of fact, the report is just now, as I speak, being released. This is what it looks like.

Senator CHAMBLISS asked me if we could have the minority report bound with the majority report. For this draft that is not possible. In the filed draft it will be bound together. But this is what the summary of the 6,000 pages looks like.

My words give me no pleasure. I am releasing this report because I know there are thousands of employees at the CIA who do not condone what I will speak about this morning and who work day and night, long hours, within the law, for America's security in what is certainly a difficult world. My colleagues on the Intelligence Committee and I are proud of them, just as everyone in this Chamber is, and we will always support them.

In reviewing the study in the past few days, with the decision looming over the public release, I was struck by a quote found on page 126 of the executive summary. It cites a former CIA inspector general, John Helgerson, who in 2005 wrote the following to the then-Director of the CIA, which clearly states the situation with respect to this report years later as well:

We have found that the Agency over the decades has continued to get itself in messes related to interrogation programs for one overriding reason: we do not document and learn from our experience—each generation of officers is left to improvise anew, with problematic results for our officers as individuals and for our Agency.